Conseil
supérieur
de l'éducation

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Advice to the Minister of Education
April 1983

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Basically, all great civilizations are crossroads civilizations which have succeeded in assimilating diverse outside influences. Should such diversity vanish into a homogeneous and uniform world, it could be feared that humanity would enter into a period without much relation to anything we traditionally are attached to.

Claude Lévi-Strauss

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INTRODUCTION

During the last few decades, the evolution of Québec has been characterized by a more clearly expressed will on the part of the francophone population to take charge of their own destiny. One of the objectives of this new orientation in collective life is to create a society where French is the language of the main sectors of public activity, and in which the Franco-Québec culture can develop and prosper while respecting the surrounding cultures. Such development depends on the exercising of the necessary powers in economic, social and cultural matters, as a result of the control which Québec has over its own political institutions. All ethno-cultural groups composing the Québec society are invited to take an active part in this collective project. For, in choosing to live and work in this province, not only have they contributed to its material growth - which, in itself is enough for them to be considered as full-fledged citizens - but, in continuing to be what they are, with the necessary adaptations, they can also contribute to the creation of a society which is increasingly conscious of the latent value of each of its parts.

At this point, and to avoid any ambiguity, it is important to bear in mind two different meanings which the word «culture» may be given. In one sense, culture is an inherited way of life and way of perceiving the world. This is the meaning given to this term when referring herein to the «Franco-Québec» or «French-Canadian culture» and to the «other cultures». People wish, with good reason, to preserve certain traits of a culture, even if these do not always correspond to standards of the society, in which one lives. In this meaning, Québec is composed of many cultures or ethnocultures. This is the sense generally given

to the world «culture» in this study. There is also another important meaning given to this word: «culture» is an ensemble of standards and values shared by a whole society, even though the society is quite diverse. In this sense, we may speak, for example, of the American or Canadian culture. Also in this sense, we may henceforth speak of a Québec culture which would include, as integral elements, not only the predominant French-Canadian culture, but also all the other ethnocultures which compose Québec society. By living together, whether they are of French, English, Italian or any other origin, by observing the same laws and the same standards, people end up sharing a culture. This is the new Québec culture, a broad, open and dynamic culture into which the people living here will integrate, without necessarily foresaking their own ethnocultural source.

It cannot be denied that there are racial and ethnic prejudices here and there; it is highly regrettable that, in this regard, deplorable incidents occur at workplaces or in schools, and all possible steps must be taken to eliminate the causes of conflicts. A first step would consist in a better mutual understanding of the traditions, the ways of living and the manner of perceiving the world among the groups composing Québec society. The reception of newcomers would thus be greatly facilitated. We believe that, even if what is done here in the field of relations and reception of newcomers stands comparison with the best in other countries, progress must be made by ensuring that the relations between all elements of Québec society be marked by greater mutual respect for what they are, individually and socially. We declare, together with the authors of the White Paper on Québec Policy on Cultural Development, that «a living society must consider the relations stemming from its own diversity as an indispensable source of

enrichment[1]».

It will be objected that in order to bring about this atmosphere of reception and mutual acceptance, our society must first be educated to it. This can be readily acknowledged, since there are few sectors where education, in its wide sense, is not appropriate, but in order to realize such a vague and general wish, one may not know where to begin. Of course, certain information media assume part of the task, often with some success, taking into account their penetration potential; citizen groups can also do their share, particularly those with socio-cultural objectives; but, in the final analysis, it is up to each individual to educate himself, either by the above mentioned means, or by getting to know people of other cultures.

There is, nevertheless, in most of our societies, a place which is particularly devoted to the learning which young people must acquire to realize their gradual integration into society, without prejudice, however, to the foremost and unique role of the family and the community. The school, in truth, not only has the function of training people for a trade or a profession; it is also the place where young people can acquire a good share of their personal and social education. In this perspective, the school must be careful to adjust itself as closely as possible to - and, at times, to transform - the social conditions evolving around it, one of the elements of which is this diversity of ethnocultural groups, increasingly characteristic of Québec society. Through its personnel and students, the school

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1. Gouvernement du Québec, La politique québécoise du développement culturel (Québec Policy on Cultural Development), Québec 1978, volume 1, page 63.

reflects this trait of our society, since it daily receives students coming from the most varied of backgrounds and who, at home, live human experiences like everyone else. Through these daily gatherings, the school easily becomes «an important place of socialization». This is what we mention in our report on the social function of the school institution[2]. We stated: «The peer group exerts a preponderant influence on the socializing process». As a consequence, the role of the school in sensitizing and educating people concerning the cultural values of the ethnocultural groups living in Québec cannot be underestimated.

Incidentally, the Conseil had already begun reflecting on this subject, in one advice to the Ministre de l'Éducation almost five years ago[3]. It was then following up on the work of four working groups composed respectively of representatives from the Black, Jewish, Orthodox and Italian communities. In this advice, the Conseil, «while briefly recalling certain principles, (proposed) some practical solutions to denominational and cultural problems in the school milieu». For its part, the Catholic Committee had previously published a document on the reception, in the Catholic schools, of children belonging to diverse cultural and religious traditions[4]. In this intervention, the Committee proposed a «beginning of reflection and action», and invited the Catholic schools to «consider the phenomenon of diversity as a new occasion to show

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2. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1980-1981 Report, Vol. II: La fonction sociale de l'institution scolaires (The Social Function of the School), page 18.

3. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, L'école et les enfants de divers groupes ethniques et religieux (The School and Children of Various Ethnic and Religious Groups), Québec 1979, 16 pages.

4. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, Catholic Committee, Dans ce pays (In this Country), Québec 1978, 32 pages.

its «Catholic» character, which, in its etymological sense, means universal, i.e. open to the communications and values of the whole world».

Once again, as the Conseil promised in its recommendation, and in view of the continuing increase in the cultural diversity of Québec, it raises the subject to try to advance a little more our understanding of the requirements of intercultural education. It will first be seen that the Québec population is composed of numerous and varied ethnocultural groups and that, consequently, those schools situated where diversity is particularly prevalent, had to take this reality into account and adjust to it. It was necessary to take special pedagogical steps to facilitate the reception of young people at school and provide them with the special assistance they required. This is but one aspect of intercultural education, since it must be understood that in a society having a wealth of cultural traditions, there are different views of the world, of the human being and of spiritual life. In Québec, we do not uniformly perceive human nature and life in the same fashion; we share different ways of living.

The question of preventing, on the one hand, the disintegration of such views and ways of living, and, on the other hand, of promoting their continued experience and therefore their positive contribution of the whole Québec society, is the question which the Conseil proposes to study by attempting to find out what an intercultural education might be. A few of the problems raised by cultural diversity, particularly in the schools, will be examined, as well as the mechanisms which have been or should be set up to answer the needs of this education. The objective is the development and the progress of a society which has already expressed its will to live in French according to its own culture,

in an atmosphere of respect fot the minority ethnocultural heritages, and of openness to the influences by which it may be enriched.

I - ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION

1. An intercultural perspective

It is important to realize that the ethnocultural groups do not all view the elements of the population in the same fashion and that they should also be introduced as they see themselves and as they wish to introduce themselves. For example, the Autochthons do not consider themselves «from Québec» or as «Québec citizens»; in their view, Québec is an administrative reality outside of their national reality. Therefore, from the point of view of the autochthon nations, they must be spoken of as living «in Québec».

From another perspective, the quantitative approach should not be taken as the main standard of appreciation of ethnocultural groups. Nor should the expression «cultural minority» be used in general terms, since, per se, no culture wants to be viewed as smaller in order to be replaced by another or in order to enhance another. In defence of those who use these terms of methods, it must be said that they use them most of the time without any ulterior motive and without any colonialist or imperialist intent. We nevertheless believe it important do draw attention to this. There are naturally situations where the approach is a quantitative one, especially for administrative purposes or in order to have a clearer picture of some reality, but it would then be preferable to speak of «linguistic minorities» (since the linguistic arrangement of a society must preferably take the majority into account) and

«cultural communities» (since the cultural arrangement of a society rests mainly upon sharing among communities).

Without denying that the common use of a language is generally a strong factor of cultural integration, the language criterion may sometives be the wrong one to characterize an ethnocultural group. For example, the English language spoken by the Chinese or the Japanese does not basically make them people of English culture, nor does the French language spoken by the Haitians or the Vietnamese, basically make them people of French culture. If the language criterion is used, it must be borne in mind that this aspect does not necessarily reveal the basic nature of these groups: their language of communication is not the best medium through which their culture is expressed. Therefore, the use of the terms «francophone», «anglophone» or «allophone» (the latter term emphasizing the pre-eminence of the two former ones), corresponds to very specific ends: either to identify the modus vivendi of various groups from the linguistic point of view (the use of a specific language at home, with friends, etc.), or again to identify the categories of students to be dealt with when utilizing methods of language teaching at school.

The ethnocultural reality of Québec is quite complex. The population comprises nations (as with the Amerindians and the Inuit), cultures and ethnic groups. «The ethnic groups, as a consultant observed, are subgroups within a culture. Each culture has its ethnic varieties. The ethnic groups constituting a culture share a common basic perception of the world and a certain number of basic values. But their ways of expressing these values are different, so that they have

different customs and traditions[5]». There also exists an interracial reality which is quite distinct from the interethnic and intercultural reality: Blacks, Asiatics and Amerindians were colonized by the white race, in circumstances which differed from one population to another. As a result, within each of these major groups, subgroups have evolved, each according to different modalities, marking their respective mentalities and behaviours. It would be an oversimplification to believe that all Blacks are similar or that the Asians all have the same perception of the world.

2. The Amerindian and Inuit nations

In recent years, Amerindians and Inuit, the first inhabitants of our country, have been the object of increased and less negative interest. For a long time, it was thought they could be silenced by confining them to fixed and restricted territories and by allowing them to benefit occasionally from certain fallouts of our social and economic development. This ignored the fact that by doing so, we were not only using natural resources to which they had property rights, but we were also depriving them of the basis of their values and traditions: they were transformed into destitutes. In the words of An Antane Kapesh, a Montagnais: «Since the white man came to our land, we, the Indians, have been worth nothing and have governed nothing[6]». Since they rejected the role of wards of any state which to them is foreign, the autochthon nations have recovered their dignity

5. Kalpana Das, Intercultural Context of the Classroom and its Implications in Teaching, Montréal, s.d. Typewritten text, page 2.

6. An Antane Kapesh, Eukuan nin matshimanitu innu-iskueu, Je suis une maudite sauvagesse, (I'm a damn savage) Montréal, Leméac, 1976, page 225.

(did they ever lose it?). They insist on having their rights acknowledged and on maintaining their cultures as they see fit. Québec must take this into account in its relations with them.

The Amerindians are divided into two great cultural and linguistic families, the Iroquois (Hurons and Iroquois) and the Algonguins (Montagnais, Cris, Algonquins, Têtes de Boule or Attikameks, Micmacs, Abénakis, Naskapis and Malecites). As already mentioned, these two great groups extend well beyond the present territorial limits of Québec. «The Algonquins include nations from the Atlantic to the plains, from the Bay of Ungava to the Carolinas. The Iroquois include the nations of the St. Lawrence River basin, to Lake Ontario and extending south to Maryland[7].

In 1978, the Indian population of the Québec territory numbered 33 705 Indians and 4 873 Inuit. These are registered Indians under the terms of the Federal law by which they are governed (by which it is claimed they are governed, say the Indians). The others - the Métis and non-registered Indians and those «without status» - number an estimated 20 000. The total Amerindian and Inuit population stands at 58 578 individuals[8]. The registered Amerindians live in thirty-nine «reserves» spread across Québec. As for the Inuit, they are found in the far North of the province where they live in thirteen villages.

As for the school population, in 1979-1980 it numbered 3 182

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7. Revue Monchanin, No. 63, April-June 1979, page 2.

8. These numbers and the following were supplied by the interim coordinator of activities in Amerindian and Inuit communities, at the ministère de l'Éducation.

Amerindian students in federal schools in the reserves and 6 621 in provincial schools. Among the latter, 3 675 students belonged to the Cri and Kativik school boards (created following the James Bay Agreement). It may be noted in passing that the Inuit are not subject to the federal Indian law. Finally 2 600 other Amerindian students are registered with approximately fifty Québec school boards, as a result of agreements between these institutions and the federal minister of Indian and Northern Affairs.

In the course of their history, the Amerindians and Inuit have more or less resisted the cultural shock from the gradual occupation of their territories by the European settlers. To-day, they show a vigor and firmness which finds its expression in their territorial property claims and in their determination to reactivate their cultural values[9].

In the field of education, as in any other matter concerning them, they claim to be fully independent, but not isolated. They consequently maintain relations with the governments of Ottawa and Québec (the latter, in this connection, has created the Secrétariat des activités gouvernementales en milieu amérindien et inuit (Bureau of Governmental Activities in Amerindian and Inuit Communities). Concerning more specifically the field of education, the autochthons may decide to act independently and take charge of their schools, or, if they wish to establish communications with the ministère de l'Éducation, they must do so within their own self-imposed limits.

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9. For the cultural values of the Amerindians, worthwhile reading material may be found in La Revue Monchanin (now Interculture) including studies on political autonomy of the autochthons (numbers 62, 63, 64), the juridical world of the autochthons (numbers 65, 75-76) and the Christian-Amerindian dialogue (number 74).

This is in accordance with the following declaration of the Brotherhood of Indians of Canada, some years ago: «We are in the best position to judge the kind of school programs which are appropriate to the realization of these objectives without causing the child any prejudice. (...) Only a local method of administration of education will allow us to take decisions in specific cases. We believe it is up to the Indian Bands to take these decisions and exercise fully their responsibilities by offering the children the best possible teaching[10]».

The Amerindians have already taken charge of their own schools in seven cases in Québec: Tsheshteshenu School of Maliotenam (North Shore), Johnny Pilot School, in Sept-Iles, Amisk School, in Pointe-Bleue (Lake Saint-Jean), Maria School (Bonaventure), Kitigan Zibi School, in Maniwaki, the Survival School (secondary) and the Indian Way School (elementary and secondary) in Kahnawake. As for the Inuit, the School board of Kativik has been responsible for education since 1978, except in the villages of Povungnituk and Ivujivik, where the population has rejected the James Bay Agreement. In these two localities, the schools have entered into a services agreement with the Kativik school board, without prejudice to future events.

From this brief sketch of the situation of the Amerindians and Inuit in Québec territory, it would be quite risky, even presumptuous, to attempt making any recommendations. A more detailed study is essential. This would give greater insight into these nations, their claims and aspirations. In the field of education, special

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10. Brotherhood of Indians of Canada, Indian Control of Indian Education, 1972, pages 3 and 4, (Translation).

attention should be given to certain questions, such as teacher training, didactic material, measurement and evaluation, the provisions of the Charter of the French Language on the language of teaching[11], and any other questions which may arise out of the relations between these nations and the Québec nation.

3. Immigration

In the past

During various periods of its history, Québec - as well as Canada and the United States - has been a land of immigration. Starting in 1608, the St. Lawrence valley became the site of the first permanent French settlements of what later became Nouvelle-France. For a few decades, until approximately 1665, the population growth was slow. Subsequently, recruiting increased when soldiers were sent over by the King of France, these soldiers being free to remain at the end of their contracts. The colony needed tradesmen and settlers: they arrived in such greater numbers than before, that when Nouvelle-France was ceded to England in 1763, it is estimated that France had sent 10 000 of its subjects over here and that the population count was approximately 60 000.

It is interesting to observe that, among the French sent over to Canada by the metropolis, a number were Swiss, English, Irish, German and Italian. Their number was admittedly limited since most of them were part of the military sent over by the King to Nouvelle-France. Still, many founded families and have left descendants.

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11. For the autochthons and the teaching of French, see: Conseil de la langue française, Rapport annuel 1981-1982, pp. 24-27.

After 1763, following the cession of Nouvelle-France to England, the British in turn arrived in great numbers in the St. Lawrence Valley. The cities of Québec and Montréal first attracted merchants and tradesmen. There followed large groups of Loyalist who left the United States during the American war of Independence[12]. They were granted land in the Eastern Townships, the Gaspé and the Ottawa Valley. Many Irish and Scots settled here and there in rural communities to form population groups whose principal calling was cultivation of the land. The toponymy of Québec easily reveals this aspect of its settlement.

Under the French regime, the presence of Blacks goes as far back as 1606, when Champlain was accompanied by a black Protuguese, named Mathieu de Costa, a free man «expert in the Micmac language[13]. Then there was a certain Olivier Lejeune, a Guinean, who came as a slave of the Kirk brothers in 1619; he became the property of Guillaume Couillard and died in 1654 (whether he acquired his freedom is unknown). Later on, the French in Canada bought black slaves from the British colonies and the Caribbean. Their total number was approximately 1 200 according to Trudel, based on documentation he was able to retrace. They were found mostly during the last twenty years of the French regime and more particularly after 1760, at the

12. Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin, La situation démolinguistique au Canada, évolution passée et prospective, (the Demolinguistic Situation in Canada, Past Evolution and Prospects), Montréal, L'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980, p. 11.

13. Léo Bertley, «L'histoire du Québec vue par un Québécois noir» (The History of Québec as Seen by a Black Quebecker) in Revue Monchanin, No. 60, July-September 1978, page 15.

time of the Loyalist immigration[14].

The other waves of immigration began to reach our shores before the end of the XIXth Century. First, there were Jews, coming mostly from Eastern Europe, after 1880, and following each of the two great World Wars. More recently, a few thousands were added to them, coming mostly from Morocco, but also from the Middle East. The construction of the railroad in Western Canada, at the beginning of the XXth Century stimulated the arrival of large contingents of Chinese and Blacks (the latter originating from the United States) into Québec, once the work was terminated. In about the same period, Italians and Greeks arrived in great numbers, the latter mostly from 1951 to 1961. From 1919 to 1935, German immigration was weak, but it increased strongly after the Second World War. As for Portuguese immigration, it is very recent, mostly post-1960. «Until 1967, two thirds of the immigrants came to Québec from Europe. To-day, European immigration accounts for one third only. Immigration from Latin America, the west Indies and Asia is increasing, while African immigration remains stable[15]». As a matter of fact, in recent years, there has been a considerable influx of Asians, Vietnamese and Cambodians, who left their country for economic or political reasons.

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14. Marcel Trudel, L'esclavage au Canada français (Slavery in French Canada), Québec, Presses universitaires Laval 1960, passim.

15. Jacques Perron «Les minorités au Québec» (Minorités in Québec) in Dossier Québec, Paris, Editions Stock, 1979, page 342.

In recent years

During the years 1970 to 1979, the number of immigrants admitted to Canada and to Québec was as follows[16]:

Number of immigrants admitted to Québec and to Canada 1970-1979

Year	Québec 1	Canada 2	Québec's rate of attraction 3 = 1/2 x 100
1970	23 228	147 713	15,7
1971	19 221	121 900	15,8
1972	18 583	122 006	15,2
1973	26 871	184 200	14,6
1974	33 458	218 465	15,3
1975	28 042	187 881	14,9
1976	29 282	149 429	19,6
1977	19 248	114 914	16,7
1978	13 899	86 313	16,1
1979	19 522	112 096	17,4

From these figures, it appears that Québec's average rate of attraction, i.e. the number of immigrants admitted to Québec per 100 immigrants admitted to Canada, according to the last decade of data vailable, is 16%.

16. Gouvernement du Québec, ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration, Direction de la recherche, L'immigration au Québec (Immigration in Québec), annual statistical bulletin, vol. 7, (1979), page 11.

The marked increase in the rate of immigration to Québec and to the whole of Canada is due to the massive arrival of Indochinese refugees. This reception program, which is to be continued in 1980, allowed Québec to receive, in 1979, almost 5 500 refugees from South-East Asia out of the more than 24 500 who came to Canada that year[17].

Geographical distribution

Concerning the distribution of immigrants among the administrative regions of Québec during 1979, it is interesting to note that the great majority of those who are ignorant of French or English wish to settle in the region of Montréal, being 6 837 or 76,39% of the 8 950 of this category. All in all, it is observed that regardless of their language, immigrants are attracted more to Montréal and its region than to any other region of Québec, as appears from the following Chart[18].

17. Ibid. page 7.

18. Ibid. page 13.

Distribution of immigrants admitted to Québec in 1979 according to their knowledge of French and English, by region of destination

Region of destination	French only		French and English		English only		No French no English		Total (=100)
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
01 Eastern Québec	14	18,9	8	10,8	3	4,1	49	66.2	74
02 Saguenay/Lac St-Jean	41	20,2	26	12,8	26	12,8	110	54,2	203
03 Québec	289	29,2	147	14,8	62	6,3	492	49,7	990
04 Mauricie/Bois-Francs	92	22,5	26	6,3	15	3,7	276	67,5	409
05 Eastern Townships	104	22,4	70	15,0	46	9,9	245	52,7	465
06 Montréal	3 429	22,1	1 572	10,1	3 647	23,6	6 837	44,2	15 485
- South Shore	502	28,0	175	9,8	413	23,0	702	39,2	1 792
- Center	2 880	21,5	1 382	10,3	3 197	23,8	5 964	44,4	13 423
- North Shore	47	17,4	15	5,6	37	13,7	171	63,3	270
07 Ottawa Valley	63	17,0	25	6,8	43	14,3	229	61,9	370
08 Abitibi-Témiscamingue	25	25,2	-	-	6	6,1	68	68,7	99
09 North Shore	15	18,5	1	1,2	4	5,0	61	75,3	81
10 Other regions	374	27,8	160	11,9	229	17,0	583	43,3	1 346
TOTAL	4 446	22,8	2 035	10,4	4 091	21,0	8 950	45,3	19 522

These data confirm, if need be, the fact that the immigrants, presumably due to economic pressure, related in particular to employment prospects, clearly prefer to go where opportunities are greater for them. It is also known that they seek to join groups of the same origin already established here, in order to minimize the impact of the cultural shock of settling in a strange country. Their first choice is therefore Montréal. This metropolis has become an important port of entry for immigration. Ethnic communities have developed in the city and their role has always been considerable. For each wave of immigrants, these sectors of the city have contributed to «facilitating their adaptation to a new culture and to economic relations different from those existing in their country of origin. A great number of them are of peasant extraction and they experience serious difficulty in adapting to urban life[19]».

Briefly stated, Québec's present demographic situation consists of a majority of persons whose mother tongue is French (83%) and of an important number of people whose mother tongue is English. Other groups also have a certain demographic importance, such as Jews, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Blacks, and Ukrainians.

- Schools attendance

The geographical distribution of ethnocultural groups is reflected, as expected, in school attendance, as appears from the following chart[19a]:

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19. Dominique Clift et Sheila McLeod Arnopulos, Le fait anglais au Québec (The English Fact in Québec), Montréal, Libre Expression, 1979, page 184.

19a. Ministère de l'Éducation, Clientèle scolaire des organismes d'enseignement 1980-81 (School Clientele of Teaching Organizations (1980-1981), Québec 1982, pages 98-113.

Registrations 1980-1982
according to mother tongue

	French	English	Other	Total
1. Lower St. Lawrence/ Gaspesia	47 234	2 427	141	49 892
2. Saguenay/ Lac St-Jean	59 009	520	356	59 885
3. Québec	179 573	2 216	692	182 481
4. Trois-Rivières	76 366	584	440	77 390
5. Eastern Townships	40 902	4 932	285	46 119
6. Montréal	434 030	90 966	52 903	577 899
- North	134 345	10 983	4 368	149 696
- South	165 903	23 273	4 120	193 296
- Centre	133 782	56 710	44 415	234 907
7. Ottawa Valley	47 277	8 600	683	56 560
8. North-West	35 634	1 297	1 507	48 438
9. North-Shore	23 904	1 936	1 205	27 045
10. New-Québec	765	83	3 148	3 996
	944 784	113 561	61 360	1 119 705

Source: Summary forms of school clientele as of September 30th, 1980.

In 1980-1981 (according to data supplied by registration as of September 30th, 1980), there were 1 119 705 students in the Québec elementary and secondary public schools (excluding students attending reception classes for immigrants). Of this number, there were 61 360 or 5,48%, whose mother tongue was neither French nor English. In the

metropolitan region, this percentage increased to 9,15% ans whithin this region, the Island of Montréal received 83,95% of all students of the greater region whose mother tongue was neither French nor English. This criterion of the mother tongue («first language learned ans still understood by the student») was found to be very useful to give an idea of the impact of the presence of many ethnocultural groups on school attendance. This criterion must, however, be considered as approximate, since it does not take into account the behaviour of individuals who, after a certain period of time, have decided to drop their mother tongue in order to adopt French of English while remaining quite distinct from the francophones or anglophones as regards their values and their ways of life.

II - NATURE OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

- Culture and values

Intercultural education is first and foremost education which takes into consideration and respects the various ethnic, racial and cultural identities making up our society, as well as their different perceptions of the world and their particular educational cultures. It is education which sees the various aspects of life through the eyes of many cultures and not through those of one culture only. For example, in certain cultures, the family and community milieu is paramount in the sense that it teaches its members certain fundamental values such as interdependance, respect for elders, veneration of ancestors, as well as of nature, discipline, work, patience, serenity, etc. Certain educational cultures are centered on individual autonomy while others are centered on interdependence and a wide family community.

Intercultural education also consists in learning to be sensitive to cultures and their values as a whole. Cultural values are not separate, but rather integral parts or dimensions of a whole cultural entity. At an initial level, probably the more accessible, contact takes place with the folklore, language, literature and arts which are characteristic of one culture or another. This is a first step which may be followed by others, since it appears natural to go beyond certain aspects to attempt to expand one's knowledge of another culture. For example, how can one study a foreign language without making contact with its literature, the historical background which explains its development and the civilization it expresses according to the modes which are specific to the mentality of the people whose language it is? Such interdependence becomes apparent as soon as any aspect of a people's culture is examined.

At a second level, intercultural education should attempt to give better information about the contribution of each of the ethno-cultural groups to the formation of our society and the making of our country. At the outset, emphasis must be placed on the perception and knowledge which the Amerindians had and still have of the country. Their knowledge, ever since the arrival of the Europeans, was found to be essential to all those who came here and wished to adapt to the country or discover its natural resources. The contributions made first by the French, then by the English, should be better known, especially by each of the communities which for too long have lived in mutual ignorance and misunderstanding. The input of other communities is just as important, in due proportion to the roles they have played, and should be better known, not only to acknowledge their merit and the place they deserve, but also to uphold their pride in the progress they have made and to reinforce their feeling of belonging to the country and society in which, at a given time, they chose to live and share with those already there. The history of these contributions has only begun to be known; however, as will be pointed out hereafter concerning the teaching of history, some works have already been published and may be used profitably.

Finally, we must consider each cultural aspect of every group in our society, including the values which enrich any general culture. Thus must we consider a group's specific family culture in all its originality and strength - for example, the extended family, respect for elders, its particular family size, the educational traditions of the family, relations with the ancestors, etc.; we must consider its social culture with its unique qualities of hospitality, good neighbourliness, refined ways of communicating, unique ways of settling conflicts within the extended family, or by means of a

council formed from the family, the clan and the community; and we must consider its specific educational culture based on interdependence, relations with others, its particular pedagogy based on a sense of observation, oral tradition, and on methods which are more symbolic, less explanatory and more intuitive, etc. Should we not also take advantage of the rich medical traditions of the Chinese Tai-Chi and of the Hindu yoga with their holist conception of health as well as the rich community therapies of Black and Oriental peoples? We must not fail to mention the valuable contributions of the specific economico-political cultures of all these peoples - for example, virgin territories which a non-interventionist attitude has preserved for centuries; economy in being and doing, which balances economy in having; barter practices which humanize commerce; rich political traditions based on cooperation rather than competition and power struggles. We must also mention their juridical cultures based on giving thanks and on a sense of cosmic solidarity; finally, all their particular ethico-religious values based on non-violence, patience, and non-duality between the spiritual, the human and the universe. If greater attention were given to these values, they could certainly lead to a more open humanism[20]. In this perspective, intercultural education consists finally in integrating the contribution of many cultures into one's own cultural synthesis in order to obtain a better and wider vision of the world.

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20. On this question, see Robert Vachon, «D'un Québec intégrationiste à un Québec interculturel» (From an Integrationist Québec to an Intercultural Québec), in Interculture, No 73, October-December 1981, pages 6-7.

- Integration and acceptance

If an immigrating culture has the responsibility of adapting to the host country and its culture, the host culture is also expected to accept as an enrichment these new cultural values which are contributed. In this fashion, intercultural education can be based on an education to cultural dialogue. Common progress towards a necessarily different future, founded upon a regenerating pluralism rather than upon the assimilation of cultures in favour of a unique surviving culture would be the result. Intercultural education, on the one hand, can consist in reception with integration with a view to making our own culture and its values accessible to others. This is presumably what is sought by those who wish to come and settle here and become part of our society. On the other hand, equal importance must be given to reception and acceptance of these cultures rather than attempting only to transform them. The host society must be respectful of the variety of values held by persons and groups. It must even go so far as to render its own evolution possible through contacts with new and enriching ways of life.

In order to ensure true equality of opportunities, the host culture must reject traumatizing uniformization or forced integration.

As was said during our hearings, it must be remembered that to the extent that integration exists, there will often be, to the same extent, disintegration. It was also pointed out to us that «equality of opportunity, for cultures, does not consist only in the opportunity to be similar to the dominant culture, but also in the opportunity to be culturally different».

III - INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOL

Both respect for, and acceptance of ethnocultural group values must be desired by society in general. It is up to this society «to create a moral and physical environment which allows them to live in accordance with their own cultural content[21]». It is however up to each part of society to play its rôle, in harmony with all the others. In this perspective, the school, from the elementary to the university level, must provide its contribution. It obviously cannot do everything, but with regard to intercultural education, the school undoubtedly has a very important role to play, considering its very nature and the place it holds in society. Because of its legal obligation to receive, first, all children of school age and, secondly, all those who wish to pursue studies, the school provides services to a vast proportion of the population. Through its personnel, its teaching, its didactic material, in short by its daily experience, it is in a position to exert a degree of influence on society, which is difficult to assess but which, at the same time is indisputable. On the one hand, the school must be open to all those who wish to take advantage of its resources; on the other hand, it must remain open to the cultural values of the young people who attend it. Both through its reception with a view to integration, and through its reception with a view to acceptance, as will be seen later, it can truly contribute to intercultural education. This type of education appears as an increasingly pressing necessity fot the evolution of the Québec society.

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21. Robert Vachon, op. cit., page 15.

1. Reception with a view to integration

In a statement of principles made in 1980[22], the Conseil declared: «The right to education being universally acknowledged and accepted, all citizens must be ensured of being able in fact to exercice this right». To realize this objective, the school must be accessible to everyone and must provide an education of quality. It must be able to detect the obstacles to this mission and find the ways to overcome them. The school population is made up of young people coming from numerous and varied linguistic groups; these young people also have different school backgrounds; they sometimes come from ethnocultural groups which, for historical or sociological reasons, are not at first perceived as being «winners». In order to receive these young people, it is particularly important that the school be aware of the difficulties they are faced with and that it be able to find the ways of surmounting them: this is what we shall attempt to demonstrate in the following pages concerning reception with a view to integration.

1.1 Difficulties

- The language barrier

The Education Act enjoins every child to attend school every day «from the beginning of the school year following the day on which he attains the age of six years until the end of the school year in which he attains the age of fifteen years[23]». As a consequence, each Québec school municipality must maintain schools in which it «shall admit to the grades and educational services provided in such schools every child domiciled in the municipality[24]» who is of the

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22. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, L'état et les besoins de l'éducation (The State and Needs of Education), 1979-1980 report, page 218.

23. Revised Statutes of Québec, Chapter -14, sect. 256.

24. Ibid., sect. 33.

statutory age to attend school. The application of these provisions of the law poses no problem for the French-speaking young people who attend French schools or for the English-speaking young people who are registered in English schools. The situation becomes more involved when, according to the requirements of the law, thousands of yound people whose mother tongue is neither French nor English must be registered at a French school. For example, in a certain elementary school in Montréal, there were, for 1982-1983, twenty-six different ethnic origins. In two other schools, the mother tongue of 70% of the students was neither French nor English. In one C.E.C.M. school, during the school year 1980-1981, there were «twenty-seven different nationalities coming from four continents, belonging to the great religions (Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Buddhist) and twelve languages were spoken: French Greek, Polish, Spanish, Armenian, Arabic, Portuguese, Chinese, English, Hungarian, Creole and Yougoslav[25]».

The language barrier is therefore a first obstacle on the road to learning at school. The reason is that the child must not only understand what is said in the classroom, but he must also be able to lead a profitable school life, as much through communication with his comrades as through his participation in school activities. The problem is more serious when the parents themselves speak only their maternal language: they are then unable to help their children use the language of the school. It may be added that the situation is even more difficult when the linguistic system through which the child has already learned to read or write uses graphic signs which

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25. Suzanne Martin, «Adapter l'école à l'enfant» (Adapting the School to the Child), in Dimensions, C.E.C.M. vol. 2, No. 3, April 1981, page 13.

are different from those of the western world, as is the case for the Arabs and the Chinese. It happens that in daily life, the child speaks his parents' language at home, watches television in English and speaks French at school. This gives a glimpse of how complex society can be.

- Color

In addition to the linguistic problem, there arises another obstacle to the school progress of children coming from ethnocultural groups, namely their different exterior aspect, or the color of their skin. As is indicated in the report of the working group on education for the Black community, as submitted to a committee of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, in 1978: «You create a contrast, whether you want it or not[26]». When this occurs, as was pointed out to us, the black child arriving in a white community realizes his minority status. This awareness can increase the tension already felt by the child, unless it is compensated by the quality of group reception.

- Testing and grade-placement

The use of uniform psychological tests concerning intelligence and aptitudes, applied indiscriminately to all children, whatever their socio-economic milieu, has already been seriously challenged. However, submitting children from foreign cultures to tests which were elaborated for children born and raised within our North-American context is highly unfair. «Submitting a young immigrant coming

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26. Rapport final des aspirations et des attentes de la communautés noire du Québec par rapport à l'éducation, (Final Report on the Aspirations and Expectations of the Black Community of Québec concerning Education), Montréal 1978, 69 typewritten pages, page 18.

from a different culture and still under the effect of a cultural shock to such tests, elaborated for a given population, cannot in any case give results which could lead to a realistic evaluation[27]». The effects of such a practice are not unknown in regard to the perpetuation of certain social stereotypes attached to such-and-such an ethnocultural group, to the extent of creating «connections between ethnic origin and occupation, as well as between ethnic and social class[28]».

Grade-placement of children according to their age may also disadvantage them, especially when the school system in which they were placed before arriving in Québec had many differences compared to ours. Thus, we may «find a fifteen year old at the elementary level or conversely, a twelve year old in third year of the secondary level[29]». On this subject, our attention was called to the case of young Haitians, particularly of recent immigration, who are losing all motivation to study because of an unfavorable grade-placement. They end up being considered by certain persons as «deviating» from the system. Although school attendance is obligatory in Haiti, a report on the problems of Haitian children in school shows that «the economic, social and political conditions are such that only a small fraction of the population is schooled». The child may begin school either at the age of 4 or at the age of 9; he may also repeat one school year. As a result, the same class may include children of all ages[30]».

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27. Ibid.

28. Clift et McLeod-Arnopoulos, op. cit., page 221.

29. Final report ... page 118.

30. Montréal Island School Council, Le jeune Haïtien en milieu scolaire Montréalais (The Young Haitian in the Montréal School Milieu), Montréal, 1981, page 11.

- Adaptation Difficulties

This report also mentions other reasons to explain why the Haitian child brought over to Québec experiences immediate adaptation problems:

> *«The Haitian school system encourages discipline based on unconditional respect for authority. The child is therefore trained to develop attitudes of self-disciplines.*
>
> *Teaching methods are centered on memorizing and lecturing. Little demand is therefore made upon the child's creativity.*
>
> *The Haitian school emphasizes the humanities.*
>
> *Traditional mathematics is still taught. Any approach to science such as biology, physics and chemistry is limited to theory, since the schools lack equipment for practical laboratory exercices.*
>
> *The teaching of languages is centered on grammar and written exercises*[30a]*».*

The characteristics may be found in varying degrees, in other school systems; on a more or less long-term basis, they may cause adaptation difficulties for the young. We were advised, for example, that in Viet-Nam, respect for authority is rigourously observed in accordance with a hierarchy which gives special importance to the teacher: there is first of all veneration for the supreme civil authority, then for the school teacher, and finally for the father as head of

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30a. Ibid., page 10.

the family. This is far from the use by students of the familiar «tu» with the teachers, as well as other familiarities currently used in the school milieu.

- Relations between parents and schools

The collaboration of parents with teachers, the presence of parents in school, are realities which increasingly influence our collective attitudes, either through school committees or parents' committees, or through any other form of voluntary participation. Things are viewed differently in certain ethnocultural groups, especially with persons recently arrived in Québec. For example, it is difficult, even impossible in certain cases, to meet with the parents, or to get them to come to school, in order to inform them on matters concerning their children. A sharp distinction is made between school and family; the former is relied upon entirely to ensure the children's school progress. This separation of roles is predicated on a form of delegation of power, so to speak: teachers act in the place of parents.

Other problems may impede relations between parents and the school. These problems, of a family or financial nature, although not specific to immigrants, cannot be underestimated. The immigrants feel them more acutely, being in an unfamiliar country. For example, in certain cases, only one of the spouses is in Québec with the children, which leaves him or her little time to attend to relations with teachers; again, if the parents belong to a poor socio-economic milieu, they put in a hard day's work and, during evenings or week-ends, they are not inclined to meet people of different background, such as teachers or other parents who are often better off. When, moreover, the language barrier and its accompanying shyness are added to these reasons or ways of thinking, it is easy to understand how difficult it is to bridge the gap between the school and these groups. We

were finally informed that in certain parts of the city, the high rate of family mobility barely leaves the parents time to become acquainted with the school and its personnel.

1.2 Ways and means

An accessible school is a school which is hospitable the whole year round, where the students feel comfortable and live a life which is interesting and adapted to their development. It is a school which, for children coming from different ethnocultural groups, will do everything it possibly can to eliminate obstacles to their school progress.

Such a school - or such teaching - is already, in our view, on the road to intercultural education, because it is obviously concerned with trying to understand all the children better. It also tries to respect their personalities and values in order to awaken in them the necessary motivation to succeed at school and integrate into society. Should it be mentioned that such concern and interest is not a very old tradition in our society? «Minorities» have not always been treated as they were entitled to, either in the anglophone or the francophone sectors of our school system. The school system is divided according to the religious adherence of the Québec population, either to the Roman Catholic faith, or the Protestant faith. The Protestant sector, which includes most of the anglophones, and the Catholic sector, which includes almost all of the francophones, have always formed two homogeneous blocks, independent of one another.

Until very recently, the Catholic sector would not accept children whose parents did not profess the Roman Catholic faith. It therefore excluded Protestants, Orthodox Christians, Jews, in short all who were not explicitly of the Catholic faith, regardless of their ethnic

origin or their language. The school of the majority of the Québec population was therefore primarily Catholic. It was also French-speaking, since there was a very close link between language and faith. The reason was that the Franco-Québecers, because of a deep feeling of insecurity within an anglophone Canadian and American context, sought through all possible means to preserve their language, even at the cost of withdrawing into themselves. According to their official position, language was the guardian of the faith; to keep the latter, it was essential not to lose the former. The struggle therefore took place on two fronts simultaneously. Since the school was considered by the Church - guardian of the faith - as one of the essential means of survival of the Franco-Catholic group, it was natural to accept in it only those who were both French-speaking and Catholic. The English-speaking Catholics were not excluded from this sector: they had their schools and received all children of Catholic faith who were not French-speaking.

On the Protestant side, the situation was less complex. Since their language was not threatened, it could develop freely. English allowed the greatest mobility in the labor market, whether in Québec or elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Learning English was considered as the key that opened the doors to the business world and to commerce across North America. Because of this, it was highly attractive: it was the language of progress. As for religion, «the Protestant schools were free of Church control[31]». Therefore «a formula was developed which ruled out denominational teaching».

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31. Nathan H. Mair, Recherche de la qualité à l'école publique protestante du Québec (Quest for Quality in the Québec Protestant Public School), Québec, Protestant Committee, 1980, page 104.

Operating on this principle, the Protestant school was inviting. For a long time, there was freedom to attend the Anglo-Protestant school for a great majority of children coming from ethnic groups professing religions other than Roman Catholicism.

For about fifteen years, the situation has evolved in the direction of an open public school, notwithstanding its denominational label. At the level we are concerned with, that of receiving children from all ethnocultural groups, whatever their religious persuasion, the school has become more inviting. The statutory obligation for all children to attend French school - save those exceptions provided by law - has brought it to develop open and receptive attitudes in its organization as well as in its pedagogy. In truth, these attitudes had preceded the enactment of the law. Until the present time, very good innovations have taken place and deserve encouragement; other experiments should be made, since, with the situation being so recent, it would be premature to conclude that all solutions have been found. The school therefore has a challenge to meet. Despite the ongoing discussions in any society, on such a sensitive subject, the school must continue along the way it has now chosen - that is acceptance of the right to be different. As can be read from the Statement of Policy and Plan of Action of the Ministre de l'Éducation:

«The school must, therefore, meet numerous needs, respond to a variety of expectations and demands. Reaction to this situation is varied; some see diversity as a threat to their choices and their beliefs; others manifest an individualism which attempts to reduce the world to the dimensions of their own universe; still others adopt a pluralistic position which places a positive value on diversity...[32]

The school environment is one of the places where pluralism must be permitted to express itself and where the right to be different must be given some concrete expression[33]*».*

- Reception

In 1973, the ministère de l'Éducation created the Bureau of Services to the Cultural Communities. This bureau is situated in Montréal, under the Ministère's regional direction. The bureau has, up to the present time, made an interesting contribution to the preparation of pedagogical material for reception and French classes, as well as for the program to teach mother tongues (P.T.M.T.) launched in 1977. In 1973, the Ministère set up a certain number of reception kindergartens for children whose mother tongue was neither French nor English. Since 1981, «the reception sector includes (...) French classes for children admissible to English teaching and for those who would not otherwise be admissible to reception classes», i.e. children who have been in Québec for more than five years. Reception classes proper are «henceforth reserved exclusively for immigrant children

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32. Gouvernement du Québec, ministère de l'Éducation, The School of Québec. Policy Statement and Plan of Action, 1979, par. 1.4.2.

33. Ibid., par. 1.4.5.

whose period of residence in Québec does not exceed five year[34]». As for the reception kindergartens for four-year old, they unfortunately have not existed since 1981. This, in our opinion, is prejudicial to the social integration of the children.

Through reception classes, an attempt is being made to take into account the differences resulting from the presence at school of many nationalities and many languages (in 1981, 87 nationalities and 32 languages were counted), and also of the great variety in the children's school background. In this view, it is sought to

- *help the student acquire minimal language proficiency, corresponding to his age, his needs and his interests;*
- *develop in him a positive attitude towards the francophone community;*
- *have him acquire the vocabulary corresponding to the various subjects making up the program of every Québec student who has completed the same schooling*[35].

On September 30, 1980, the entire population of the reception centers numbered 10 296 pupils. Following the cancellation of reception kindergartens for four-year old children, the numbers in this sector, in 1981, fell to 4 904 pupils, divided as follows[36]:

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34. Georges Latif in collaboration with a team, «Mesures d'aide aux communautés culturelles du Québec» (Means of Assisting the Cultural Communities of Québec) in Vie pédagogique, no. 21, November 1982, p. 33.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

	Reception classes	French classes
Preschool education	503 (15,5%)	1 182 (71,6%)
Elementary schools	1 576 (48,4%)	417 (25,3%)
Secondary schools	1 175 (36,1%)	51 (3,1%)
	3 254	1 650

In most places where the number of pupils admissible to reception proves insufficient, «special reception measures» are resorted to, as provided for in the budgetary regulations of the school boards.

> *It is stressed that, when applying the «special reception measure» (which becomes a «special measure of linguistic assistance» for cases admissible to French courses), a pupil is withdrawn from the ordinary class at specific times of the day, in order to receive intensive teaching in French*[37].

- Evaluation of the reception

A research study carried out from 1976 to 1978 at the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal by two linguists, one psychologist and one sociologist attempted to establish a comparison between the two different types of teaching being used in education young immigrants - the reception class and the direct integration class

37. Ibid.

respectively[38]. In the first type, the child stays for seven to ten months in a special immersion class, during which «he receives help in mathematics and in adaptation to Québec life, until he has acquired a sufficient command of the spoken and written French language. In the second type, although there is no unique formula, the child is placed in a regular class where he «takes» the courses given, with, however, pedagogical support to help him master the spoken and written language. There are also times when students are brought together outside the ordinary classes; this is very close to the reception formula. When evaluating integration into the school, it was found that «the two groups adapt almost in the same way to their respective school milieux[39]». As far as social integration is concerned, no significant difference was observed between the two groups of children. In this connection, the researchers made the following important remark:

> *It is, however, to be noted that if children of reception classes experience no more problems than the others in penetrating the Québec milieu, on the other hand, they receive a form of teaching which preserves their ethnic identify because the teachers in reception classes always try to favor the original culture of the immigrant child*[40].

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38. Pierre Andréani, Helga Geider, Marcelle Hardy-Roch and Anne-Marie Lortie, Etude comparative sur l'apprentissage du français entre les enfants-immigrants en classe d'accueil et les enfants-immigrants en insertion directe (Comparative Study on the Learning of French between Immigrant Children in Reception Classes and Immigrant children in Direct Integration), CECM, s.d. 155 pages.

39. Ibid, page 118.

40. Ibid.

Even though it is required that teachers in reception classes have specialized training in teaching immigrants, we wonder how the same teacher is able to take into account all the cultures present in his class. As for the learning of French, «the results of various tests allow us to conclude that the children of reception classes are clearly superior, especially at the level of oral performance[41]». This, according to the authors of the report, gives these children a clear advantage in their psychological development.

Another research study on students finishing reception classes at the CECM[42] also arrives at the following conclusions: «In summary, the school integration of immigrant children who have attended reception classes appears to be a success» and such integration seems «to reach its maximum in the two first years of attendance» in ordinary classes[43]. However, the author notes his finding that, later on, the students showed «a slight diminution of their school performance... notably in French... during their years of attendance in regular classes[44]». Did this result from deficient pedagogical «encadrement», loss of motivation, or a temporary regression in the students' learning? The author of this study could not reach any conclusion. The problem deserves attention and further analysis.

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41. Ibid., page 119.

42. Guy Pelletier with the collaboration of Manuel Crespo. Le jeune immigrant dans le système scolaire (The Young Immigrant in the School System), C.E.C.M. 1979, 210 pages.

43. Ibid., page 46.

44. Ibid., page 124.

In the course of our interviews with teachers, it was pointed out to us that there should be a follow up to the reception class, that is a post-reception period. Even for the students who enjoy the maximum ten month reception period, this period often turns out to be insufficient to ensure an integration of quality into the ordinary classes. We were also informed that the special reception class is preferable to direct integration, even at the risk of marginalizing the students. As for an intermediate formula, such as linguistic support consisting in withdrawing the student from the group to ensure his progress in learning the language of instruction it has the advantage of leaving the student in contact with all his classroom comrades for all other school activities. The student works harder, but he is more motivated and proud of himself. Between the reception class in an institution exclusively devoted to this activity and total and direct integration, there is room for intermediate formulae, and taking a number of factors into account, such as the degree of schooling of the parents, the gap between the mother tongue and the language of instruction, the socio-economic situation of the family, and the degree of education of the teaching personnel, we believe the door should not be closed to any experiment having good chances of success. There is no universal formula indiscriminately applicable to all children.

- The teaching personnel

The school, as a reflection of society, used to be monolithic (it still is in certain places, depending on their populations). It is only recently that it has been marked by cultural diversity to which it has had to adapt as best it could. There was no tradition of reception for immigrants, let alone any idea of their cultural values. By the force of circumstances, the teachers had acquired ingrained habits which, in the course of recent years, they had to drop, not without some trepidation. Despite this, we found that

they have the desire to honestly face the situation and if there are failures, they are mostly due to a lack of training, information and support. Some parents made the same observation when they expressed their satisfaction with the school attended by their children. There is nevertheless room for improvement whether in teacher training or in assistance to teachers at work.

In the former case, l'Université du Québec à Montréal offers an undergraduate certificate in French teaching in reception and immersion classes. This is given by its Faculty of Language Teaching and Literature. This contribution by the University has a didactic objective rather than one of acceptance of the cultural values of elements of the Québec population.

Assistance to teachers at work may take various forms. The ministère de l'Éducation, through its Bureau des services aux communautés culturelles (Bureau of Services to Cultural Communities), has prepared pedagogical material for kindergartens, for teachers of the reception sectors as well as for activities in French. It provides documents on the final and intermediate objectives of the modules (speech, reading, writing), lesson models prepared by the teachers of reception classes, a minimal corpus of French vocabulary, a lexicon of mathematics, notions of comparative phonetics, as well as a list of available pedagogical material showing where it can be obtained, an initiation guide to Québec life, and a collection of songs, stories, and do-it-yourself activities.

The teachers can also obtain the help of persons specially designated by the ethnocultural groups to assist the school in receiving young people. These persons also provide relevant information on their respective cultures. The Montréal Island School Council has

published an index containing information on sixty-five ethnic and eight multiethnic organizations which have declared themselves ready to answer requests for services by providing «persons capable of making their ethnic group known and understood resources which may be used during school activities and celebrations or events which can be attended[45]». It is hoped that this index will be regularly updated and that a greater number of ethnocultural organizations will contribute to it, that it will receive adequate distribution and especially that it will be used by school principals, school committees and teachers. The francophone and anglophone Québec universities offer approximately thirty study programs in foreign languages and civilizations, not to mention Canadian and Québec studies. The range, of course, includes African, German, Jewish, Islamic, Arab, Neo-Hellenic, Latino-American, Russian, Italian and Spanish studies. These teaching and research centers, being well provided with personnel and documentary resources, should be made use of, since they constitute places of study and centers of influence for the cultures established in Québec.

- Relations with parents

As for relations between school and parents, we are pleased to mention a number of initiatives taken by the school boards and the schools. Thus, to help teachers to better understand the milieu where the students come from, some schools have received resource persons of the same origin of the ethnocultural groups providing the greater number of students. These individuals are sometimes like a one-man orchestra, having to respond to multiple questions and solve an

45. Montréal Island School Council, Ils sont des nôtres... (They are ours ...), Montréal, 1981, 176 pages.

extreme variety of problems. At the PSBGM, «liaison officiers» were hired to take care of relations between school and parents. For the time being, they are but two: one is in charge of relations with the Black community, the other, with the Greek community.

Relations between educators and parents should be improved especially with regard to the newly arrived who, we are told, must go through a kind of «social adjustment». Making contact with the school is difficult for them, especially when the language of the administration is foreign to them and when they are unfamiliar with the school programs and the didactic material. Moreover, it often happens that the influence of the school and of other children conflicts with the parents' teaching. The children, in such cases, are liable to acquire a double personality: one personality influenced by the school milieu and another personality influenced by the family milieu: the latter is often far removed from the way of life of the host society. For this reason, dialogue is essential.

In this perspective, we believe that the Adult Educational Services of the school boards should be mobilized to help newcomers to integrate easily into their new context of life - for example, by explaining to them the laws which concern them particularly, e.g. laws on rights and liberties, the French language, social laws, the Education Act, including the regulations respecting elementary and secondary teaching, and those respecting school committees: in short, everything one ought to know in order to benefit from teaching services. In the same vein, it would also be important that those arriving in Québec get acquainted with the history and traditions of Québec.

The school boards and the schools should have the possibility of hiring persons descended from ethnocultural communities, to whom

relations between school and the family would be entrusted. The number of resource persons or «liaison officers» already doing such work in certain places is clearly insufficient to meet the demand, considering the quantity and variety of interventions they have to make with the families, in the interest of the student. Their task is not an easy one, since these people, in the exercise of their functions, are often identified with the official school system; they are perceived as bureaucrats having the duty to make everybody obey the rules.

It is, however, necessary to keep on building the best possible relationship between all agents in education. The school committees, assisted by the principals, achieve some degree of success by utilizing efficient methods, such as arranging meetings accompanied by festivities, highlighting some ethnocultural particularity of the district or issuing to the parents communiqués written in their own language. As for representation on school or orientation committees, we must insist on this recommendation of the Black community:

> *If the educational project is to be realizable and viable for our community as well as for all minority ethnic communities, sufficient flexibility is required to allow numerically weak groups in a given region to fully participate in accordance with its concerns and needs without restraining the concerns and needs of the other groups present*[46].

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46. Communication by the working group on education of the Black community, presented at the 1980 Consultation meeting of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, page 2.

We find it interesting that the personnel of certain schools took the initiative of providing a bit of welfare to certain families; this is obviously an occasional and complementary role with a view to maintaining the conditions for regular school attendance. Either out of ignorance of the climatic conditions with which we are familiar, or because of their material impecuniosity, it happens that children lack clothing to come to school: it was therefore arranged for these children to receive clothing; in one school that we know of, there even was a clothes bank set up. As for food, in certain places, there were occasional distributions of food, after been observed how poorly nourished certain children were. There are also instances where that students do not enjoy adequate space at home to do their homework and study there lessons: one school took steps to allow children to do their work at school even after regular hours. It is obviously not the intention of turning these provisional interventions into habits so that they become current practice, since the school has many other tasks to accomplish. Moreover, every person, however poor, has pride and while providing help, the risk of slipping into paternalism is to be avoided. However, being aware of these problems is useful to the school personnel to help them better understand the situation of certain families and the behaviour of their students. Such awareness can lead to establishing more assiduous relations with the parents.

- At the colleges

Our observation of what goes on in the colleges was very limited; we nevertheless wish to report on our findings, if only for their value as examples of what to do and what not to do. Although colleges often have a significant population of varied ethnocultural origin, they do not seem to have developed any particular reception and

acceptance philosophy. Work with the students is on a piecemeal basis, according to their needs. For example, there are assistance mechanisms (student interpreters) with a multiethnic approach for parents who understand neither French nor English and for students who need to strengthen their knowledge of the language of the institution. The problems found at the college level are predominantly of an administrative nature (budgeting, planning). They also seem to be of an individual nature. It is acknowledged that the course contents are not always meaningful for these students because of the lack of reference to the history or values of their group of origin, as well as because of frequently obvious conflicts with the values or traditions of their communities of origin - one example being the equality of men and women as practised in our society. In their student milieux, these young people are considered as adults; their parents, however, treat them as adolescents, despite the trouble the college might take to inform the parents about the experience of the young. One college conducted two experiments: the «intercultural center», a sort of place of exchange, organized on a voluntary basis by a few professors and students; the «mother-daughter evenings», an activity organized in order to promote the understanding of the background of each of the two partners and to improve family relations which may have been shaken by a cultural shock. There are also «ethnic days» organized to promote sharing with the «other» culture.

Students from various ethnic origins often find themselves attending college without much motivation, being pushed by parents who have little schooling, or being faced with the burden, while pursuing their studies, of taking care of their families to stave off economic hardship. One observation seemed interesting to us: the cultural communities strongly bound by religious faith are often

less «penetrable» than others. It would be interesting to pursue research on this subject. Could it be that religious values have priority over all others? Could these values be the source of deeper personal experience and might they consequently favor attitudes of withdrawal and conservatism, as compared with values characterized by openness to outside influences? For the time being, we can give no answer to these questions. This would be an interesting subject of study and research in the intercultural field.

- At university

In one university, where approximately 12% of the students are «foreign», only one person is placed at their disposal to help them solve their adaptation or money problems and cope in a milieu where they find themselves in a minority position and where they are the victims of prejudices. As for the professors, they do not wish to be bothered about such students who are «different». It is obvious that a single person assigned to handle all these problems is quickly deluged and can hardly take care of all the cases. According to an unofficial survey at this university, solitude seems to be these students' main problem outside the classroom. For survival reasons, this brings about the formation of groups along lines of origin which, in turn, feeds prejudice. We were told that the foreign students considered themselves victims of discrimination when their tuition fees were «unreasonably» increased; since then, they have developed a rather negative attitude towards Québec institutions. A few projects were set up: for example, foreign students were sent to speak about their country to students of the secondary level; workshops were also organized to sensitize the professors to the needs of these students, but those who attended these workshops were the ones who were the least in need of them; finally, small student ethnic associations have been encouraged: they take charge especially

of organizing cultural weeks.

In another university, a reception service for foreign students attempts to make the professors aware of this reality of the university milieu, namely the ethnocultural diversity. This service also endeavours to counsel and help out the student, to the extent of inviting other students to come to his aid. This university approves and financially supports six ethnic student associations.

As was observed at the college level, the university is unconcerned about the Québécois or «Néo-Québécois» students of various ethnocultural origins, particularly with regard to their values. Their integration into Québec society takes place in difficult conditions, where no one seems concerned about accepting their values.

There are a certain number of reasons to explain the situation of these students, but can they justify it? It is considered, for example, that most of these students, at least in the universities outside of the metropolitan region, are strangers in transit; that they are more in need of an integration type of reception rather than of an acceptance type of integration, since they have come to acquire knowledge and a scientific training and not to make any kind of personal contribution; that the specific nature of a university education, as a result particularly of the professional objectives of the program and of contact with specialists, causes concerns of a different nature; that, in any case, they are adults whose personality traits are already set and whose autonomy, objectivity and faculty of understanding are presumed to be acquired.

The attention of academics should nevertheless be called to the special dimensions of interculturalism. It must not be forgotten

that in recent years, our universities have recruited a great number of professors coming from other countries. This is not without a certain influence on studies and teaching methods. The orientation of studies and research which deal with the outside world should also give both professors and students an opportunity of becoming familiar with other ways of life and other perceptions of the world. In this spirit, they should, for example, if this is not already being dome, take a critical view of the concept of development. «Developing countries» - in relation to whom and what? «Helping the Third World» - why is this part of humanity classified as «Third»? Who decided this? The university is the ideal place to answer these and many other similar questions. It is well placed to help sensitize teaching personnel for whose further training and development it is responsible.

2. Reception with a view to acceptance

The attitudes and methods used to accomplish reception with a view to integration have a transitory character which in a certain way marks them. As a matter of fact, this kind of reception is intended for people as newcomers to be introduced to their new homeland, its established population and its community services. At school, attempts are made to initiate children to Québec life, to teach them the language of communication, in order to incorporate them into their peer group. This is already a good start, but if things remain at that point, it is far from certain that these people will be happy and well adjusted; they are rather justified in continuing to consider themselves as strangers who are not allowed to be themselves in this so-called welcoming society.

We are often fond of speaking about open arms and dialogue. We must, then, go further - beyond words of courtesy uttered on our doorstep, however sincere they may be. «True dialogue takes place only when each person at the outset is persuaded that there is something to be learned from the other[47]». The host society must be aware of the positive contribution which ethnocultural groups can make, whether they are new or long established ones. Their cultural values must be considered as a potential enrichment for society. In this connection, school obviously has an important role to play. In addition to its contribution to reception with a view to integration, which it seems well on its way to realizing, it can participate in an interesting way in reception with a view to acceptance. As a matter of fact, there exists, among its objectives, the teaching of values, which is accomplished mostly through dialogue and the experience of « co-living[48]». The school, not only in Montréal but everywhere in

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47. Roger Garaudy, Comment l'homme devint humain (How Man Became Human), Paris, éditions J.A., 1979, page 335.

48. «Co-living; a state of true community of life between two co-existing beings», in Henri Piéron, Vocabulaire de psychologie, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 5th Edition, 1973, page 94.

Québec, must contribute to an actual dialogue among cultures, not through formal structured programs, but through its whole teaching, whether in particular subjects or in so-called extra-curricular activities, as well as through, naturally, the attitudes of its entire personnel.

In our last annual report, we commented on the subject of an open school in a welcoming society, in the following terms:

> *From the social point of view, the presence of many ethnic groups, following a more or less recent immigration undeniably constitutes a cultural asset. (...) If Québec society seems to receive the immigrants, the refugees and the ethnic minorities relatively well, it is not so obvious that the school network has succeeded in responding similarly. If the actual role of the school vis-à-vis an increasingly pluralist society is to be taken seriously, greater efforts must assuredly be made to make reality of the open arms intention of the school towards persons coming from the widest range of horizons*[49].

2.1 Needs

- The host society

Attitudes are at the forefront of the conditions for a good quality of reception with a view to acceptance. We must, on our own ground, agree to question the other cultures and listen to them, in the hope that together we will cause worthwhile values to emerge. The culturally underprivileged are not always those we might have in mind.

49. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1981-1982 Annual Report, Vol. II: Pedagogical Activity, page 150.

It is obvious that a displaced person cannot live culturally in his adopted country in the same manner as in his country of origin. He or she must adapt to certain physical constraints such as those imposed by our extreme climatic variations, obliging the newcomer to adopt a new way of life concerning lodging, clothing and nutrition. But the newcomer will also have to show adaptation in his way of thinking and behaving. As a matter of fact, by introducing himself into a new society, he forces himself to modify his own culture either by taking up new ways of life or by abandoning old ways. Let us take only two specific examples. The first concerns the education of children. It is clear that the tradition of physical punishment which exists in certain cultures is not considered a positive value here, so that the newcomer has no choice but to forsake it, if only to avoid blame from the host society. The second example concerns the place given to women in the family and in society. In Québec, as elsewhere in the world, there have been extensive discussions which have led to concrete improvements in many fields as well as to new ways of thinking. This has brought about important changes in our society, although the situation is far from being ideal. These changes are such that they quite often cause a cultural shock to individuals and families coming from countries where the status of women has not evolved in the same way. The host society must take into account the conception other cultures have of the role and status of women in the family and in society, without at the same time abandoning the promotion of certain values it feels will ensure the well-being of its men and women.

It is natural, for the Québec society, to attempt to make its values known and shared by those who have decided to join it. In exchange, our society must take the opportunity it is given to enrich itself by allowing those it receives to live and develop as much as possible according to their own criteria. This is guaranteed by the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, which stipulates that «persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with

the other members of their group[50]». All partners must share alike, since, as one speaker observed, immigrants wish to lead their lives in a way that preserves their differences from and similarities with the host society. In this perspective, besides holding seminars on their needs in relation to their adopted society, or their «adaptation problems», we should reflect on their original cultural values, their perception of the world and our problems of acceptance of their way of life. There are a few studies on awareness of other cultures, but they are generally statistical and simply give the history of the immigrants' arrival and of their adaptation or integration into our society. There are yet no real works of introduction to their perception of the world and to their specific family, social, educational and economico-political cultures. It is hoped that this gap will be filled as soon as possible so that, with better information, tolerance follows - and that, at least, is a minimal degree of acceptance. Later, there may be acceptance, preservation and promotion of these cultures as they see and define themselves in their new context of life.

- The school

It goes without saying that these attitudes of our society should also be those of the school personnel, if the wish is that the school contribute to intercultural education. We know that some teachers will never come into contact with children from different ethnocultural groups, as also that some will never have to give moral or religious instruction, whether from lack of motivation or aptitude or for any other reason. On the other hand, those who live these experiences, or have to give this sort of teaching, should be required to show a clear taste and inclination for them. They should benefit from appropriate training and should be provided with the necessary pedagogical instruments in order to be able to work under the best possible conditions. This is what a certain

50. R.S.Q. Chap. C-12, sect. 43.

number of teachers we have met have asked for. Many, in fact, told us they do their best, but could do better if they could at least receive some supplementary education to learn about the life styles which are personified by children in their own classrooms. Those children are living testimonies of other cultures. Their wish is also ours, since it is of the utmost importance that the personnel show an attitude of respect for the ways of life of the children and of their parents. It is also important that, through their teaching and attitudes, the personnel be careful not to create a gap between the child's life at school and his or her life at home or that, if there is one, the personnel at least not be responsible for it.

2.2 Ways and means

The first and most important condition for the acceptance of cultures and their values in the school milieu is for the teachers and administrators to develop an attitude of acceptance through actual gestures in their day-to-day personal, family, community and social life. Objective studies are certainly useful but insufficient in a field which requires daily involvement, attentive listening and an understanding of human feelings. This proposition may seem surprising, but it is enough to understand that cultural values are not objects which can be manipulated or studied like merchandise, which can be measured and counted with absolute precision. Cultural values can certainly be observed in their daily context but it can be readily observed that they are varied and different from one ethnocultural group to another. For example, cultures do not all have the same approach to children: some consider that every adult has the duty to correct a child, even that of a neighbour or of a stranger and that he must teach him interdependence more than autonomy, respect for the other more than self-assertion; in some cultures, boy-girl relationships are forbidden, at least outside of the home. In other cultures, no one has rights over anything but can only have an attitude of infinite gratitude towards life, one's parents, ancestors, and the cosmos. In some ethno-

cultural groups, money does not have the same meaning and importance as in ours. In some cultures, attitudes concerning sexuality are also very different from ours and consequently sex education requirements are felt differently. As for the roles of men and women in society, one must not plunge too quickly into discussion of the «enslavement» of women and attempt to «liberate» her; it happens that in some ethnocultural groups, the woman considers that her most important role is to feed the family herself and be present at home. In some cultures, the generation gap is non-existent; in others, parents remain «papa» and «mama» and children feel no shame in showing dependance towards them.

We believe that, in order for the teaching personnel to better understand the attitudes and ways of life of inter-cultural groups, meetings should be encouraged with persons of different cultures through participation in the activities of cultural associations, in sessions and learning work-shops or in centers devoted to intercultural activities. It is always essential to call upon participants who actually come from the cultures concerned. Learning sessions may deal with either a specific culture or with inter-cultural relations and the reasons for the difficulties we have in accepting them without reserve. It has seemed to us that the school personnel feels a need for such education in order to develop an attitude of acceptance towards cultures; but they must be given the means to develop this attitude, either by avoiding any increase in their workload or by using for this type of education some of the money alloted to education or by making more flexible the rules on attribution of credit for education acquired outside of university centers.

We believe that in the day-to-day school life, it is most important, indeed essential, that the students perceive in their teachers an attitude of understanding and respect. This is all the more important since teachers quite often may run the risk of making mistaken judgements about students whose classroom behaviour follows standards which, at first glance, seem strange compared to those we are used to. For example, as we have pre-

viously indicated, some students do not dare look the teacher in the eye; others appear to have a passive attitude because they seem content to listen without asking questions. Naturally, with time, these students probably adapt to our ways, but here again, change cannot be rushed. Mild persuasion is still the best method.

Some teachers, like other members of society, harbor prejudices and pejorative stereotypes. Such prejudices can have a negative impact on the image the young entertain about themselves and consequently on their orientation. For example, certain specific types of work are considered as belonging to such-and-such ethnic groups, or, again, individuals from poor socio-economic milieux are pressured into being content with certain types of jobs which nobody wants. Being prisoners of the image which others have of them, they are practically helpless to escape it.

What should be done to avoid confining the students to such a system of reproduction of socio-economic roles? What should be done in order that individual vocations not be decided in advance but result from a deliberate choice, taking into account personal aptitudes, regardless of one's ethnic origin or of the color of one's skin? Here, as in many other domains, the school cannot be exclusively charged with solving the problem; these are social facts with an historical explanation which are expressed in the organization of society. By attempting to solve the entire problem alone, the school would be biting off more than it could chew. Its contribution will nevertheless be worthwhile, if it does it part in the understanding and acceptance of cultural values and in the development of a sense of positive values, and also if, with the means at its disposal - of which mention will be made hereafter - it fights to shake off prejudices, to uproot the negative stereotypes prevailing in society and to develop positive relations between teachers and students as is suggested in the above quoted report of the Black community:

A positive student-teacher relationship is an element of the educational process, since there is an inclination to learn more easily from a person who appears to have a kind attitude or at least is neutral or impartial. People will give their best only within a milieu where equality of opportunity prevails, without intimidation and where they may reasonably hope to be judged on their merits. Otherwise, they will feel underestimated. They will react according to what is expected of them, without motivation, without making any effort to obtain a reward which they consider to be illusory within a partial context[51].

In certain schools, teaching and non-teaching personnel of the same race or ethnic origin as the majority of students were hired. Such persons can be positive models and may offer the young an image of self-esteem; they may also be of great help to other personnel towards understanding the students and towards facilitating relations with the family. Unfortunately, in certain cases, their hiring being sometimes very recent, they are the first victims of surplus personnel situations. We believe certain corrections should be made in the application of seniority rights included in the collective agreements. In the same vein, steps should be taken to ensure the presence of persons of various ethnocultural origins at the decision-making level, from the school to the ministère de l'Éducation, and that their values be accepted. As for the public service, the government has already committed itself to making it «an institution where acknowledgement of the right of members of cultural communities to equitable treatment may be found, as well as a response to the aspirations of these communities. The object of this program is that the Administration reflect faith-fully the society it must serve[52]».

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51. Final report ..., page 35.

52. Gouvernement du Québec, Autant de façons d'être Québécois (So many Ways of Being a Quebecer), Plan of Action of the Québec Government for the Cultural Communities, 1981, page 56.

- Teaching

Inside the school walls, the contribution to intercultural education is primarily found, as we sufficiently demonstrated, in the behaviour of the personnel, and secondly, in the teaching of certain disciplines or in the so-called extra-curricular activities. It is therefore not intended to add to already quite heavy study programs, but rather to inform and educate through teaching activities which already exist. This is not in itself new and is not difficult to realize: we may only remind ourselves of the former multiform presence of religion in the schools, whether in teaching manuals or in teaching itself or in other activities. The school must now deal with the cultural diversity of society; does the school not reflect society, as can already be observed in many a school, particularly, in Montreal?

Among the program subjects and the extra-curricular activities, some are more particularly fitted to inter-cultural education, by reason of their objectives and their content. We are inclined to make comparisons between ourselves and others, either through knowledge of the past, our own or that of others, through the description of countries where various peoples live, the presentation of activities featuring all sorts of artistic treasures, or even through the campaigns to sensitize people to the needs of population that have become incapable of participating in so-called development and progress. We are inclined to make these comparisons in our favor and according to our own standards and we often deliberately or unconsciously suppress our collective responsibility for the origin and development of the present dramatic situation of a good part of humanity. The school therefore has much to do in presenting reality as objectively as possible and, if need be, in correcting erroneous opinions which are tenaciously held in the form of prejudices and preconceived ideas.

- History

History holds first place among the disciplines having influence on our interpretation of facts. It is impossible for us to verify all that has happened in the lives of peoples of the world, therefore we rely on the competence of those whose mission it is to bring it to us and interpret it. Their responsibility is great, and their influence can be durable:

> *Make no mistake: the image we have of other people or of ourselves is associated with history as it was recounted to us in our childhood. It marks us throughout our existence*[53].

History, as sometimes told, contains omissions and distortions of fact which may turn out to be useful to the teacher, not only by reestablishing the facts but also by illustrating how truth can be betrayed. We may quote, for instance, the judgments of our school manuals on the Amerindians, on the «civilizing» role of the Whites and their territorial appropriations (we hold no monopoly in this connection: our neighbours also did their fair share). We may also quote the results of the cession of Nouvelle-France to England, as variously perceived by historians. Concerning the Amerindians, it should be mentioned that the ministère de l'Éducation has made a significant contribution for the benefit of history and geography teachers at the elementary and secondary levels. It consists in a selective and annotated bibliography of printed works in circulation or on the library bookshelves. This guide contains a number of clarifications concerning the autochton groups and recommends the most up-to-date works in the field[54]. In order to correct the image we have of Amerindians

53. Marc Ferro, Comment on raconte l'histoire aux enfants à travers le monde entier (How History is Told to Children around the World), Paris, Payot, 1981, page 7.

54. Gouvernement du Québec, ministère de l'Éducation, Coordination of Activities in Amerindian and Inuit Communities, Pour parler des Amérindiens et des Inuit (Speaking of Amerindians and Inuit), Quebec 1983, 94 pages.

and the Inuit, the following works, among others, are mentioned: Vincent et Arcand, Savard, Smith, the review entitled Recherches amérindiennes au Québec (Amerindian Research in Québec).

The contribution of the ethnocultural groups to the development of Canada and Québec in particular should also hold a prominent place in teaching of history. For the Blacks, the contributions of Bertley, Winks and Dejean should particularly be mentionned; for other groups, the Secrétariat of State of the federal government has undertaken the publication of a series of volumes on the peoples forming the population of Canada (collection entitled «History of the Peoples of Canada»): to this date, works have been published on the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Norwegians, the Poles, the Scots and the Arabs. As concerns Québec in particular, l'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (Québec Institute of Cultural Research, created in 1979 (R.S.Q. Chap. I-13.2), has started working on research and research animation concerning the cultural communities in Québec under the theme «cultural changes and identity problems». It thus is attempting to correct the «state of underdevelopment of ethnic studies», in view of the «widening of the parameters of the Québec society» (1980-1981 Report). At the present time, the researchers of the Institute have published a collective work on the anglophones of Québec and an annotated bibliography concerning the Québec Jews. Other work is under way, and the project on ethnic cultures is staffed with persons coming from various ethnocultural groups. The future is promising since the Institute has included in its work agenda: elaborating on the Institute's orientation «concerning research and research animation on ethnic questions».

With regard to the population of Montreal, a series of monographs entitled «Profil d'une communauté ethnique de Montréal» (Profile of a Montreal Ethnic Community), was published by the Montreal Island School Council. This series has at present seven titles. We hope that such publications will

be encouraged, particularly those on the subject of peoples and their perceptions of the world, their specific values, their cultural approach to family, social, economic, educational and medical matters, their ethico-religious policies, in short their specific anthropology. We should be given more than the episodes of their arrival in our country and their relations of integration into the society of the majority. It would also be interesting to know their own interpretation of their history as seen by themselves.

- Geography

The peoples who inhabit Québec come from somewhere. We all have our roots in some country which had its characteristics and where a group of humans formed and developed a life style which, after a while, had made this group different from any other. Human Geography, which in particular studies the interaction between man and his environment, has many interesting aspects. It reveals the diversity between continents, countries and peoples. It attempts to provide explanations, no doubt in its own way, but it also contributes to a better understanding of the behaviour and ways of thinking of our compatriots and of the immigrants who came to make a living here. Current events give us the occasion to renew our contact with geography, for instance when great sports events take place in heretofore unknown countries or cities, or again, which unfortunately is more frequent, when armed conflicts take place somewhere on the planet in countries which otherwise would remain unknown to us. Has any thought been given to using the students' own knowledge of their country of origin, its customs and traditions? The knowledge of their parents or of other persons could also be used with much advantage.

- Literary and artistic works

Literature, music, sculpture, painting and dance are means of expression all peoples favor. Whether oral or written, literature has been the

vehicule of dreams and beliefs. It is the interpreter of the philosophy and religion of peoples, it explains the world according to the interpretation which known and unknown authors give to it. It is interesting to observe similarities between literatures or between arts, while attempting an integration of subjects and disciplines, or again, while attempting to find out how the same theme - for example, the story, the art of dancing - evolves in different countries and sometimes in quite remote epochs. The revelations brought about by such research are sometimes surprising: they at least show that we are not so different from one another[55]. Peoples have long nourished the same dreams, fears, and hopes: this has to be discovered, since divisions and ideologies tend to mask them. In this sense, speaking of the dialogue of civilizations, Roger Garaudy wrote: « A true dialogue between civilizations is possible only if I consider the other man and the other culture as a part of myself, inhabiting my person and revealing to me what is missing within myself[56].

These dreams, fears and hopes can be found in the Québec artistic heritage, particularly of popular expression, which developed from a combination of autochton and foreign contributions. They were transmitted to us with local flavor and accents through songs, dances, stories and legends. What we seek elsewhere may possible already be part of our own traditional background. Who knows if our new countrymen would not recognize elements of their own culture, when becoming acquainted with ours? It is therefore highly desirable that all steps be taken so that, on the one hand, the arts and popular traditions of Québec be expressed in works and activities featuring them and, on the other hand, that all Québecers have greater access to these forms of our heritage. In this perspective, encourage-

55. Interesting documentation on this subject may be found in the publications of the «Archives of Folklore» collection of the Centre d'études sur la langue, les arts et les traditions populaires (CELAT) (Study Center on Language, Arts and Popular Traditions (SCLAPT) at Laval University.

56. Roger Garaudy, Pour un dialogue des civilisations (Promoting a Dialogue between Civilizations), Paris, Editions Denoël, 1977, page 154.

ment must be given to groups whose objectives are to popularize Québec traditions and present them throughout Québec and abroad in art shows or publications[57]. Such activities are more conducive to emphasizing what unites us rather than what divides us.

- Didactic material

With all the goodwill in the world, teachers cannot accomplish miracles if they do not have adequate pedagogical instruments at their disposal. This is the case especially when the didactic material carries racist, ethnic or religious prejudices, whether such prejudices are expressed or implied - for example, through intentional omissions or factual distortions. As for school manuals in particular, the ministère de l'Education has expressed its intentions:

> *To be approved, a school manual must:*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ---------- *be respectful of the cultural, moral and religious values of the community;*
>
> ---------- *avoid reproducing sexist or racial stereotypes and ensure a proper balance in the presentation of role models to children*[58].

To follow up, an important step was taken by forming a mixed committee composed of representatives of the Council on the Status of Women, the Human Rights Commission and the Direction of Didactic Material which proposed a series of criteria to be applied with the help of an analysis

57. Concerning conservation and distribution of all material about Québec arts and popular traditions, the folk group Les Sortilèges is in a position to collaborate in teaching, either through its stage productions or through its publications and its dance school. It also has developed a research sector with its Marius-Barbeau Center.

58. The Schools of Québec, par. 9.3.4.

grid[59]. In 1979, the editors were advised of this and henceforth didactic material is approved with the help of this grip. Even though the ministère has already rejected material which did not meet the criteria, the teaching institutions still have manuals which will be in use for some time to come, considering the economic recession and the habits of some administrations who do not renew their stocks too often. In spite of this, and knowing what is and what is not to be done, the teachers can use these manuals while pointing out their defects, errors of judgment, omissions and distortions; in short, a defective material can be turned into a means of sensitization to the existence of prejudices or of racial or ethnic discrimination. The Human Rights Commission also places material and resources at the disposal of the public in the fight against discrimination. Finally, ethnocultural organizations, embassies and consulates will, upon demand, provide institutions with interesting material - particularly audio-visual material - which of course should be used with a certain critical sense, to such extent as this material could serve as ideological propaganda for the countries producing them.

- Mother tongues

In order to help ethnocultural families and groups preserve their languages, the ministère de l'Education, in 1977, launched the Program to Teach Mother Tongues (P.T.M.T.) for students at the elementary and, eventually, the secondary level. This is also a way of acknowledging the role which languages can play in the preservation of cultures of origin. If, in fact, the respect and acceptance of these cultures is desired, then using the means deemed essential for this purpose must be allowed. At any rate, the cultural communities did not wait for the ministère to take such an initiative in order to show interest in their own languages: there are language classes in twenty-seven of the private ethnic schools in Québec; on the other hand, sixty-two community organizations representing approxi-

59. Claude Morin, «Stéréotypes et matériel didactique» (Stereotypes and Didactic Material», in Vie pédagogique, No.9, October 1980, page 29.

mately forty ethnocultural groups give language courses to twenty thousand students at the elementary and secondary levels, either after school hours or on weekends. These are paid for the most part by the communities themselves, and also by the federal government, the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec and by the countries of origin. Through its P.T.M.T. initiative, the ministère de l'Education takes upon itself to grant it the necessary financial and pedagogical support, while at the same time giving these courses the same approval it gives to any other subject of the program. The teaching of mother tongues is also expected to become part of the educational project of any school willing to give it. As a result, such teaching becomes one of the values which this school intends to promote. In 1981-1982, the P.T.M.T. courses had seven hundred registrations and in 1982-1983, they had 1629, which is a considerable increase. Three school boards - the C.E.C.M., Les Ecores, Jérôme-LeRoyer - participated in the program and four languages are presently taught: Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Greek.

Research tends to show that when students have insufficient command either over their mother tongue or over the language of the host society, they have a tendency to fall back in their development, either regarding their linguistic performance or regarding the acquisition of notions. It was also stressed that the child who studies a second language before having mastered his mother tongue has a tendency to develop emotional problems, notably in his relations with his parents and with his community of origin. Another study has shown that a child's success in a second language, meaning the language of the host society, depends on his command of his mother tongue[60]. It is in order to avoid these negative consequences for children, and therefore for their families and society, that the teaching of the maternal languages must find its place in the

60. Ministère de l'Éducation, Bureau of services to cultural communities, Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine (P.E.L.O.) (Program to Teach Maternal Tongues (P.T.M.T.): The present situation, by Joseph Ritton, January 1983 (#51-6103, pp. 4-7.)

education of children coming from various ethnocultural groups. Appreciating the children's cultures and mother tongues will generally bring positive results, in the sense that it will allow them to preserve the ties by which they belong to their native ethnocultural groups. «Those among foreign students who are better adjusted and know what their own values are would then, more than the others, be able to appreciate the values and cultural elements offered by the school system, and be more able to appreciate the values and cultural elements offered by the school system, and be more able to benefit from them; which does not imply denying one's own identity, but rather developing it[61]».

In order to promote intercultural education, we believe it would be desirable to give access to courses in the mother tongue to all students of the host society who express such a desire: this would be one of many ways of strengthening the ties between children and of opening their minds to other ways of life. It would provide them with an additional instrument of communication which, even if it should remain imperfect later on, would at least show an effort towards better mutual understanding.

- Extra-curricular activities

Anything which is not a lecture, a lesson to learn or a piece of homework to do, has the knack of captivating the students' minds, arousing their enthusiasm and participation. Extra-curricular activities bring creativity and imagination into play better than the best of school manuals; they also promote cooperation among the young, which often gives some of them a better opportunity to show their talents than any other circumstance could.

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61. France, Ministère de l'Education nationale, Scolarisation des enfants étrangers (Schooling of Foreign Children), Information file, s.d. page 29.

In short, for all these reasons, extra-curricular activities are the ideal framework to make children and adults aware of the presence and, to some extent, to the values of the cultural communities forming the school population. By the simple fact that they propose tangible objectives, such as a show, a lay or religious celebration, an exibition, to be realized within reasonable time limits and often on a shoestring, they force the participants to call upon any and all resources handy: the students themselves, teachers, parents and ethno-religious organizations. Finally, short of being able to exert any influence on the official teaching programs, would it not be in this field of activity that each school should start organizing its own program of acceptance of cultures?

An interesting contribution of the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration and of the ministère de l'Education should be mentioned: in 1980, they jointly published a guide entitled Vivre, grandir, partager (Living, Growing, Sharing), for the benefit of teachers. Its objective being to awaken them to the multiethnic and intercultural reality, it contains «a short ethnic history of Québec» and proposes a certain number of activities which can easily be carried out in schools. This is an example of what should be done to help people become aware of the reality of Québec; it is also a model to follow, since it has no time limit. As a result probably of insufficient information on the part of the teaching community concerning their successes in relation to this project, it seemed to their initiators that the response of the school milieu was disappointing: it counted only a few experiments in the region of Montreal. If this is so, it is unfortunate, since such initiatives are too few to be neglected. Moreover, experimenting whith such instruments is the only way to succeed in gathering an ensemble of pedagogical instruments based on our own reality, daily life in our schools and our social experience.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, we have talked about the necessity of an inter-cultural education. In concluding, an important point must be made. It is true that Québecers need to become open to others and benefit from the contribution of all cultures. However, it is proper that this be done in a manner allowing the French culture of Québec to develop and affirm itself. This fundamental need has a consequence: if it is true to say that educational system of Québec must develop an open approach to all cultures, it is no less true to say that it must take all necessary steps to familiarize the cultural communities with the French culture of Québec, their host country, into which they are invited to integrate without at the same time foresaking their own values.

This being said, the Québec society is diverse. It is composed of a multiplicity of human groups who, at different periods of the history of Québec, came and established their roots. The movement has not ceased, since each year brings its contingent of new arrivals. However, if social life is to be more than a simple juxtaposition of individuals who do not communicate, a desire to know and mutually accept ourselves and a will to live together are required. The cultural heritages which these men and women bring with them must become part of Québec culture which, like any other fact of civilization, is constantly evolving. An anthropologist Lévi-Strauss says, in our epigraph to the present study, «Basically, all great civilizations are crossroads civilizations which have succeeded in assimilating diverse outside influences».

How is it possible for Québec, a society which, at the cost of many efforts, has resolved to accentuate the characteristics of its French cultural heritage, to succeed in maintaining this determination while at the same time refraining from denying the other surrounding cultures the right to exist?

It is a major challenge, since this society tends to develop - as it is entitled to - according to its own aspirations, and at the same time, it wishes to acknowledge that each element of the Québec population has the unequivocal possibility of developing and prospering. Such harmony is eminently desirable, but it will be agreed that it can be realized only if each individual and each ethnocultural group learns to discover and accept others as they are. Learning to live in a diverse society certainly is an educational objective.

The school, for its part, can contribute greatly to this educational approach in accordance with its own objectives and means. In the first place, the reception and pedagogical aid structures which it has organized allow young people coming from the greatest variety of ethnocultural groups to exercise their right to education with a view to becoming integrated into society in a spirit of equality of opportunity. In the second place, the school, together with the family and the community, must teach the young to respect cultures and listen to what others have to say. For their part, the teaching and non-teaching personnel, through their attitudes as well as through the opportunities given to them by teaching and learning activities, have a primordial role to play. Their relations with students, teachers and the community must reflect the commitment of the school to an education respectful of the values and perceptions of the world held by these students, as living examples of other cultures.

The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation recommends:

1. That, concurrently with the fight against racist or ethnic stereotypes, the positive aspects of the cultural values of the elements of the Québec population be emphasized, either through the didactic material or the teaching, or through the education and development of the teaching personnel.

2. That the school boards and schools consult the ethnocultural communities on the best ways to promote activities of integration and acceptance.

3. That the school boards and schools take all necessary steps to ensure the participation of all ethnocultural groups in school life, either through artistic or religious events, «ethnocultural days », or other activities, or through their presence on the school committees.

4. That the schools in districts composed of various ethnocultural groups adopt educational projects which take into account not only the integration of children into school life, but also the respect of the values the children live by, and that this be realized either through subjects in the program, extra-curricular activities or through collaboration with the parents.

5. That the teaching personnel be encouraged to participate in the activities of cultural associations and in sessions or learning workshops, either with these associations or with centers devoted to intercultural education.

6. That the ministère de l'Education and the organizations managing the school system, in those places where the interest of the students requires it and after consulting the parents, take the necessary steps to hire and to retain teaching and non-teaching personnel coming from the different ethnocultural groups.

7. That the formulae promoting reception and integration of children into Québec life and schools be maintained, developed and diversified.

8. That the students who have received services from reception classes be given special, so-called post-reception attention, in the schools they attend.

9. That the school boards have the possibility of hiring liaison agents coming from the ethnocultural groups in order to put them in charge of establishing communications between school boards and families.

10. That the school boards and the schools adapt the subject timetables to their intercultural education needs.

11. That the Adult Education Services be invited to contribute to the activities of reception with a view to integrating the newcomers into Québec.

12. That, through the attitudes of the teaching personnel, when teaching certain subjects such as history, geography, literature and arts, the students be made aware of the values of the ethnocultural groups composing Québec society.

13. That the school boards and schools give a broader reception to the program of the Ministère de l'éducation for teaching maternal languages.

14. That extra-curricular activities of an intercultural nature be promoted, either by the collaboration of the teaching personnel with the students or by the contributions of the cultural communities themselves.

15. That greater collaboration between the Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration and the Ministère de l'éducation take place, in order to stimulate intercultural education, either within or outside of the school.

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